

# The Classical Weekly

Published on Monday, October 1 to May 31, except in weeks in which there is a legal or School holiday (Election Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Easter Sunday, Decoration Day). Place of Publication, Barnard College, New York City. In United States of America, \$2.00 per volume; elsewhere, \$2.50. Address all communications to Charles Knapp, at 1737 Sedgwick Avenue, New York City. Entered as second-class matter, November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized June 28, 1918.

VOL. XXII, No. 9

MONDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1928

WHOLE No. 593

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## PHORMIO THE MAGNIFICENT<sup>1</sup>

In the dazzling person of Phormio may surely be found one of the highest points of attainment in Terence's art. Here the type of the daring, clever, unscrupulous slave of the earlier comedies has been brought to fit culmination. The subtlety, wit, and readiness of invention and action which are to be noticed in the slaves are all present in still greater degree in the character of the parasite whom Terence honored with the title rôle of one of his plays.

It is instructive to make comparison, however brief, with the slaves referred to in the foregoing paragraph. In the *Andria* we find in Davus the slave who attempts to supply aid, comfort, and backbone to his young master Pamphilus and to trick his old master Simo. Davus may claim the qualities of a Phormio in less degree, but he has his limitations. We may, indeed, apply to him rightly his own words, *Davus sum, non Oedipus* (*Andria* 194). His most Phormio-like device, undoubtedly, is that by which he manages to inform Chremes about the parentage of the baby and the Attic citizenship of Glycerium in such manner that the recounting of the incident by Chremes to Simo will cast no suspicion on Davus, but will rather seem of a piece with what the shrewd slave has already told Simo (*Andria* 740-795).

But alas! After two short scenes the whole edifice of cunning falls about his ears (842-868). Phormio would scarcely have allowed himself to be caught in so ungraceful a situation as that of a tell-tale exit from the house of Glycerium. But, if he could be imagined as falling into so unfortunate a position, it is easy to picture the calm and collected manner in which he would have given plausible excuse for being in this suspicious spot. Never would he have been caught stammering or giving as a reason for his own presence there the fact that his young master was in the house.

Poor Davus, then, who seems amiable enough, not so much bent on mischief for its own sake as on assisting young Pamphilus, is 'strung up' by his irate master's order. When a little later he is released from his painful position and hears of Pamphilus's good fortune, he remarks, in pathetic vein (967-968), *more hominum evenit ut quod sim nactus mali prius rescisceres tu quam ego illud quod tibi evenit boni*.

In the *Heauton Timorumenos* there is a slave, Syrus by name, who is drawn on the general lines of Phormio. As in the *Andria*, this slave finds himself between the Scylla and the Charybdis of a young and an old master. Syrus, however, seems much surer of himself than did Davus of the earlier comedy; he shows his skill in his plan for getting money from

Menedemus by weaving so intricate a plot that it may well be doubted if the spectators of the play were able to follow its labyrinthine ways. His craftiness is best displayed by his own words (709-711):

Huic equidem consilio palmam do, hic me magnifice  
ecfero,  
qui vim tantam in me et potestatem habeam tantae  
astutiae  
vera dicendo ut eos ambos fallam....

Thus he crows that he will 'do himself proud', and that he is clever enough 'to fool them both by telling the truth'.

Syrus seems to have more control over his young master Clitipho than the slaves of the other comedies have over their charges. In fact, in the *Heauton Timorumenos* the rôles of master and slave frequently seem reversed. Syrus not only works out all the main lines of action, but even has the effrontery in one instance to order Clitipho off the stage. Even at the end, when the trickery has been discovered and Clitipho is in deep disgrace, it does not occur to Clitipho to blame Syrus for his difficulties. Syrus (with whatever degree of sincerity we may choose to ascribe to him) offers to assume the whole blame, but the father, it will be recalled, has better methods than that for bringing his son to a proper filial attitude.

Syrus, then, in his independence of spirit and general intentions may remind us of Phormio, but the genius and the dexterity of Phormio the parasite are lacking. Phormio would never have wasted so much effort on a plan which, while immediately successful, would leave its beneficiary in such an unenviable position as that in which young Clitipho found himself.

The *Eunuchus*, unlike the *Andria* and the *Heauton Timorumenos*, has no character worthy of comparison with Phormio. Phormio, however, stands out more brilliantly if we but bestow passing recollection upon the slave Parmeno of the *Eunuchus* and also upon the parasite Gnatho of the same play. In Parmeno we have a knavish fellow who first suggests a base plan to Chaerea, his master, next tries ineffectually to dissuade him from executing it, then takes part in the execution, and, finally, fearful for the safety of Chaerea recounts the miserable affair to his young master's father. Likewise Gnatho the parasite cuts a rather sorry figure. His sneering, flattering insincerity makes a poor showing when contrasted with Phormio's gay roguery, faithfulness to friends, and direct hostility to foes. Gnatho is the conventional parasite, Phormio seems rather the gentleman of leisure.

Though Phormio is not to be considered a typical parasite, he does in one case, at least, give utterance to some rather enlivening remarks on his chosen profession (338-345). Here he expresses to Geta, the Davus of this play, his feeling of obligation to his

<sup>1</sup>This paper was read at the Twenty-first Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at The George Washington University, Washington, D. C., May 6-7, 1927.

young friend Antipho, the proper attitude, as he thinks, of a parasite toward his patron<sup>3</sup>.

*Phor.* No, it's the other way, a man can never fully repay his patron. Just think of it: you come contributing nothing, perfumed and comfortable after a bath, your mind at ease, while the patron is devoured by care and expense. While everything is done to please you, he's on the growl. You may smile, be helped to wine before him, take your place before him, a puzzling dinner is served you.

*Geta* Puzzling? What does that mean?

*Phor.* Where you'd be puzzled what dish to try first. When you start reckoning up how delightful and how costly it all is, wouldn't you count the man who gives it a very god in avatar?

In Phormio the plot of the play finds its center. As Professor Gilbert Norwood says<sup>4</sup>, "...All the interest,—Antipho's marriage, the intrigue of Phaedria, the bearing of Chremes' bigamy upon the plot,—is skillfully contrived and manipulated so as to converge upon Phormio..." Mr. Norwood even goes so far as to say (75) that the reason why Pamphila is not made the daughter of Demipho (and therefore a *civis Attica* whom Phaedria may marry) is that the arrangement which Terence chose gives Phormio a chance to show the greatness of his powers in the last scene by securing a seemingly impossible thing—the parents' permission for Phaedria to have a mistress. It is difficult to agree entirely with this view. One may readily grant the first point, namely that Phormio's last success is a neat climax to his other achievements, but it seems scarcely a tenable theory that Terence might better have used the same device ('recognition') twice in the play. Surely it is strain enough on one's credulity that Phanium should prove to be Chremes's daughter, without having Pamphila prove to bear a similar relationship to Demipho!

In appraising the importance of Phormio to the plot, it is profitable to notice in how small a part of the play he is actually on the stage. Act II, Scenes 2 and 3 (315-440), and Act V, Scenes 5-9 inclusive (829-1055), contain all his direct participation in the play, and make up only 353 of the 1055 lines of the comedy. This is surprising at first discovery, for one comes away from the reading of the play with the impression that Phormio is in it from first to last, an illusion created by the fact that the other characters often discuss him.

His two appearances have a certain similarity in that each time he first prepares himself and us for his verbal combat with his enemies, and then with spirited initial attack proceeds to the fray. Undoubtedly these two battles are the highest points of interest in the play, points for which the other parts of the plot serve as preparation.

It is also interesting to review the plot from the standpoint of Phormio's connection with it. A goodly part of the dramatic circumstance is composed of the strategy through which Antipho gained his bride. This plan, of course, was the brainchild of Phormio,

and is admirably ascribed to him by Geta, in the second scene of the first act. As we come to know Phormio later, we can imagine what a fine piece of acting he must have offered in that court scene! Here is what Geta says about it (124-136):

*Davus* What did he do?

*Geta* Gave the advice I'll tell you. "There's a law," says he, "that orphans are to be married to their next of kin, and the same law prescribes that the next of kin shall marry them. I'll say you are her kinsman, and I'll take out a writ against you. I'll set up for a friend of the girl's father. We shall both come into court. Who her father was, who her mother, and how she's akin to you, I'll make up a story for all that. Any point that I choose and please, since you won't be for contesting any one of them, I shall of course establish. Your father will come back, I am in for a row, but what care I? The girl will be ours."

*Davus* A sporting venture!

*Geta* Our man agreed, it was done, we came into court, we are beaten, he has married her.

According to the plans previously laid, Phaedria and Geta place the blame for the whole affair on the broad shoulders of Phormio (231-284). In the succeeding scene (315-347) we meet Phormio himself, revealed in all his glory, eager for the battle before him. He gives a supreme illustration of his art by taking the offensive in the first skirmish with Demipho (351-371). Then, as if getting placed in the wrong were not enough to enrage the *senex*, the parasite deliberately and artfully proceeds to provoke his anger by taunting him, broadly insinuating that Demipho pretends to forget his relative because of his poverty (393-394), bidding him, since he is so wise and so powerful, to get a second trial (403-406), and (oh, most unkindest cut of all!) twitting him about his age (422-423). Compare also 433-435:

*Phor.* (*mockingly*) If you hit it off with her, you'll have somebody to be the charmer of your old age. Do have thought for your grey hairs.

*Demi.* Let her be your charmer, keep her for yourself.

*Phor.* Now, now, less temper!

Phormio parries with skill every thrust directed at him by Demipho; he parries with scorn and indignation worthy of a reformer and a champion of the right. His consummate ability in mendacity is shown by the affecting picture he paints of the girl's father. In connection with the same incident he shows his resourcefulness and his coolness by the way he turns off his failure to recall the man's name. In the same breath in which he begs Geta to prompt him, he says with composure to Demipho (387-388), "Pshaw! I don't tell you. As if you didn't know him, you come to me with your tricks".

Commenting on this passage, Donatus, in his commentary on Terence, remarks, *Mire, nam videtur arte celare quod invitus nesciebat*, 'Admirably spoken, for he seems cunningly to conceal that which, to his regret, he didn't know'. A moment later, having regained the name with Geta's aid, he says, with equal calm (389-390), *Atque adeo quid mea?* Stilpost, "After all what's it matter to me? It's Stilpho".

He has now accomplished his first objective—to turn the wrath of the *senex* toward himself rather than toward Antipho, and to make Demipho realize

<sup>3</sup>All translations of parts of Terence, from this point on, are from the version of Terence by John Sargeant (Loeb Classical Library, two volumes, 1898). <On this translation see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 6.108-109. C. K.>

<sup>4</sup>The Art of Terence, 75 (Oxford, Blackwell, 1923). <On this work see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 19.92-94. C. K.>



that the marriage is legal and that it will be no easy matter to get rid of the girl. So much is admirably disposed of.

In verses 441-828 Phormio is present in spirit, though not in person. In verses 485-566, in which Phaedria's plight is revealed, more work is cut out for the wily sycophant and for Geta. Geta, as has previously been indicated, is a slave of much the same sort as Davus of the *Andria*. That he comes out better with his schemes than did Davus is probably ascribable to Phormio. For, even though we give Geta the major credit for the plan for getting the supposed dower money from the *senes*, this plan would have been unworkable save for Phormio, who stands ready to play the part of prospective bridegroom for the unwelcome bride, Phanium, and to take upon himself the blame which must needs find lodging somewhere when the trick is discovered.

It will be noted, too, how unresourceful in this part of the play the *adulescentes* are in comparison with Phormio, or, for that matter, with Geta. What spirit they possess seems wholly due to Phormio.

Phormio's quickness of perception is recognized by Geta in the following comment (591-598):

A sharper fellow than Phormio I've never set eyes on. I come to my man to tell him we wanted money and how we came to want it. I was barely half way through with my story when he'd see it all. He was delighted, commended me, asked to see the old man. He thanked heaven he had a chance of showing he was just as much a friend of Phaedria's as of Antipho's....

It is not impossible that Phormio had his share in formulating the masterly fiction which Geta tells to Demipho and Chremes in the ensuing scene (606-681). One might easily imagine him suggesting to Geta the artifice of mentioning first the exorbitant sum so that the smaller amount would seem reasonable indeed, and devising the plausible explanation of the purpose for which the thirty *minae* were needed.

Phormio's promises to the *adulescentes* are now completely fulfilled, since Geta has succeeded in getting the money from the *senes*. Phanium will not be forced out immediately, at least, and Phaedria now has the means for purchasing his *amica* Pamphila from the hardhearted slave-dealer. But the new complication of the plot, by which Phanium proves to be the daughter of Chremes, presents a splendid opportunity for Phormio to complete the work which he has thus far so nobly advanced. Why not make permanent arrangements for Phaedria's happiness and at the same time take some revenge on the *senes* by flaunting the newly discovered secret in their faces?

So, with a superb disregard for the fact that the discovery has definitely proved him a liar in his previous conversation with Demipho, Phormio, completely readjusted to the new state of affairs, has the affrontery to accost the brothers. As in the previous case, he leads the attack, claims his promised bride, and so puts his would-be assailants at a disadvantage. There is more than a reminder of Sinon in his words (903-904):

Heus, quanta quanta haec mea paupertas est, tamen adhuc curavi unum hoc quidem, ut mi esset fides.

When the penny-wise Demipho begins to howl for the return of the money, now that he has decided that his son shall keep his bride, Phormio plays his new rôle of blackmailer. So far as Chremes is concerned, this is effective enough, but Demipho, whose avarice is greater than his fear about his brother's discomfort, is not so easily moved, and attempts to carry Phormio off to court. Then Phormio makes an overwhelming move by calling out for Nausistrata, the wife of Chremes, the revealed bigamist. As should be the case in any well-conducted comedy, the shrewish wife is at hand when called, takes the news of her husband's misbehavior exactly as Phormio counted on her doing, and thus the parasite's revenge is made perfect.

In his jubilation he makes merry sport over Chremes's disaster with his jests about the funeral. He cries (1026-1030):

Oyez! oyez! oyez! All whom it concerns are desired this very hour to attend the funeral of Chremes! That's my style. Come now, anyone want to challenge Phormio? Let him. I'll make him the victim of such disaster as Chremes has. (*changing his tone*) Well, well, let him be restored to favour now. My vengeance is satisfied: the lady has something to growl at him for all his life long.

Then, as a fit climax to his other daring, he secures Nausistrata's approval of her son's intrigue, and—to remind us that after all he is a parasite—gains for himself an invitation to dine!

The question remains—why should Phormio so bestir himself for Antipho and Phaedria? Since they had scant money of their own and he could scarcely have expected to receive later favors from their fathers, it seems reasonably certain that he was not merely performing the parasitic task of courting patrons. Probably he was a real friend of the *adulescentes*, and, once he was in the plot, it became a point of pleasure and professional pride with him to carry it through to success. As Professor Norwood remarks (*The Art of Terence*, 76), "... To all seeming <Phormio> concocts and administers a swindle on the principle of 'art for art's sake'..."

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL,  
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY<sup>4</sup>

EDITH R. GODSEY

## REVIEW

Trebizond The Last Greek Empire. By William Miller. London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York, The Macmillan Company (1926). Pp. 140. \$2.40.

'Thence they marched two days journey, seven parasangs, and reached Trapezous near the shore of the Euxine Sea, in the territory of the Colchians, a city inhabited by Greeks who came from Sinope as colonists.... Now the Trapezountians both furnished the market for the encamped soldiers and also presented them with oxen, foodstuffs, and wine'.

Thus does Xenophon (*Anabasis* 4.8.22-23) mention Trapezous, doubtless never dreaming that 'the city by the sea' was destined to become, for nearly twenty

<sup>4</sup>When Miss Godsey read this paper, she was at the McKinley High School, Washington, D. C. C. K. >.

centuries, the seat of an empire and the vanguard of Hellenism.

A little over one hundred years ago J. P. Fallmerayer published a history of Trapezous<sup>1</sup>. S. Joannides, half a century later<sup>2</sup>, and, still later, T. E. Evangelides<sup>3</sup> wrote monographs on the city. In 1898 E. Th. Kyriakides published a work on Soumela<sup>4</sup>, the monastery of Trapezous. Since 1898 many articles have appeared in various Greek periodicals, and also books, both on Trapezous and on Pontos in general.

Mr. Miller's book on Trapezous is divided into six chapters, as follows:

I. Trebizond Before the Empire (756 B. C. to A. D. 1204) (7-13); II. The Foundation of the Empire (1204-1222) (14-19); III. The Prosperity of the Empire (1222-1330) (20-42); IV. The Civil Wars and the Religious Foundations (1330-1390) (43-70); V. The Decline of the Empire (1390-1458) (71-96); VI. The Fall of the Empire (1458-1461) (97-124).

There is also a list of the Emperors (125). The Bibliography (126-136) is very full and up-to-date. A brief and inadequate Index follows (137-140).

The history begins with a brief survey of Trapezous before the Empire was established. The opening words are significant (7):

The mediaeval Empire of Trebizond is one of the curiosities of history. It was born at the time of the Latin, and survived by eight years the Turkish conquest of Constantinople. At its death it was the last independent Greek state governed by Greeks, who were themselves descended from one of the great Imperial families of Byzantium. During the two and a half centuries of its existence it attained to a high degree of civilization; its princesses were sought in marriage for their beauty<sup>5</sup>; its ports were frequented for their commerce<sup>6</sup>.

Mr. Miller gives as an excuse for his book the new sources that have come to light since the other monographs on Trapezous were written. But there is no need for apology, for Trapezous has had an important history and is still of importance, despite Turkish domination.

According to Eusebius, Trapezous<sup>7</sup> was founded in 756 B. C., before the founding of Roma Aeterna. Both Trapezous and Kerasous were colonies of Sinope (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 4. 8.22, 5. 3.2). Bessarion and Critoboulos pointed with pride to the Attic origin of

<sup>1</sup>Geschichte des Kaisertums von Trapezunt (Munich, 1827).

<sup>2</sup>Ιστορία και Στατιστική Τραπεζούντος και της περί αυτήν Χώρας (Constantinople, 1870).

<sup>3</sup>Ιστορία της Ποντικής Τραπεζούντος από των Αρχαιοτάτων Χρόνων μέχρι των καθ' ημάς (Odessa, 1898).

<sup>4</sup>Ιστορία της παρά την Τραπεζούντα ... Μονής ... της Σομελά (Athens, 1898).

<sup>5</sup>Elsewhere (68-69) Mr. Miller remarks: "... The beauty of the Trapezuntine princesses was proverbial, and, like the daughters of King Nicholas of Montenegro in our own time, they were perhaps the most valuable exports of their country. ... To the unwelcome Alexios could have been applied the line: 'Bella gerant alii, tu, felix Austria, nube' ... Compare also pages 88-89, and the statement (121) that the climate of Trapezous "was temperate, its water excellent; hence the healthfulness of its inhabitants; hence, perhaps, the beauty of its daughters, for Trebizond was to mediaeval what Joannina is to modern Greece."

<sup>6</sup>After Bagdad was destroyed by the Mongol chief Halagu (circ. 1258) Trapezous became the mart to which the goods of Asia came (26). The Genoese soon established trade centers there. In 1293 we find mention of them, but the lands were given by the predecessors of Alexios II (31). The Venetians followed the Genoese, in 1319, acquiring the same rights (38) as the latter, among others "a site for a church, dwellings, and warehouses."

<sup>7</sup>Mr. Miller holds (8) that the word means "Table Land"; this is not unlikely.

these cities, since Sinope, their mother, was in turn a colony of Meletus, an Athenian settlement (8).

In classical times Trapezous was prosperous, and enjoyed "freedom and peace". During the Mithradatic Wars it sided with Rome; "under the Empire <it> had the privileges of a free city" (9). During Nero's Armenian campaign the Roman troops passed through Trapezous, 'the gate of Armenia'. In the Civil Wars it was seized by 'a certain Vitellius'. Hadrian built an artificial harbor, and roads radiating from it which were used to carry Roman merchandise into Asia. In the war of Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger, the city, having sided with the latter, suffered accordingly. In the reign of Valerian, it was captured easily by the Gothic invaders "from its slothful and drunken defenders" (9), although it was (9) a "populous city defended by a force of 10,000 men over and above its usual garrison...," and was "girt about with two walls". Many of its inhabitants and those of the surrounding country who had come in for protection were captured, and "all the temples, the buildings, and everything of beauty or size" were destroyed (10). During Diocletian's rule the city was restored, but not to its former importance. Ammianus Marcellinus calls it a 'not obscure town'. It had a Roman consul, and in the reign of Constantine it was the extreme limit of the Prefecture of the East (10). Justinian built an aqueduct there, and, after a severe earthquake, restored its walls and other buildings at his own expense<sup>8</sup>.

In the early days of Christianity the city played its part. St. Andrew is said to have preached the Gospel there. A Church was erected over the cave in which he was believed to have taught. Many martyrs also came from this city, e. g. Eugenius, the patron saint of the city, Canidius, Valerian, and Aquila (10). Constantine's nephew, Hannibalianus, is the reputed founder of 'The Golden-headed Virgin' Church (11), and Belisarius is said to have restored the Monastery of Soumela<sup>9</sup>.

When the Latin crusaders treacherously captured Constantinople instead of Jerusalem (1204), the Greeks found other places (14), and consequently three Empires arose, at Nicaea, Trapezous<sup>10</sup>, and Thessalonike. The Empire of Trapezous, which lasted 257 years, was founded by Alexios Comnenos<sup>11</sup>.

Out of the Genoese relations with Trapezous grew the thrilling, if infamous, episode of Megollo Lercari (circ. 1315), who, upon being slapped by a courtier, in revenge went to Genoa, gathered a fleet, and, in real piratical fashion (36),

<sup>8</sup>In the reign of Justinian a man of Trapezous became Patriarch at Constantinople. J. Xipilinos, the patriarch-historian (of the eleventh century), was a Trapezountine.

<sup>9</sup>This monastery had been founded by two monks from Athens, in the fourth century. Alexios III endowed it; "... like Megaspelaion and the Cypriote monastery of Kykkos. ...", it had "a picture of the Virgin attributed to St. Luke" (61). According to a modern Greek philologist the name Soumela means 'To the Black Mountain'. It is a curious thing that this monastery had serfs (62-63).

<sup>10</sup>The last governor of Trapezous mentioned was a certain Palaiologos (13), presumably of the family that furnished the last Emperor of Constantinople, who was killed on May 29, 1453, when the Turks captured that city.

<sup>11</sup>The family of Alexios, which played a great part in the Byzantine Empire, gave to the world Anna Comnena.

...ravaged several maritime towns of the Empire, cut off the noses and ears of the prisoners and preserved them in salt. After wintering at Caffa, Lercari returned in the spring to Trebizond, enticed the Greek ships out to sea by a pretended flight, and then attacked and defeated them. Thereupon he sent ashore to the Emperor urns containing the salted noses and ears with the threat that he would send more....<sup>13</sup>

In 1319, the Moslem corsairs of Sinope<sup>13</sup> set fire to all the finest parts of Trapezous (39). This induced Alexios II to construct a "new wall to protect the western suburb and the space between the fortress and the sea..."

The attempt to unite the Eastern with the Western Church continued at Trapezous<sup>14</sup>.

Andronikos III "resolved to make his throne secure by the Turkish practice of killing two of his brothers..." (43). Mr. Miller's emphasis on the rival parties, a division "common to most Greek communities" (47), the curse of Greek political life, is worth while noting here. The native aristocracy of Trapezous (43-44) "looked with as scant favour upon the imported nobility that had followed him <Andronikos III> from Byzantium as the 'autochthonous' Greeks of Otho's reign regarded the Phanariotes, or as the modern Greek Royalists regard the refugees from Asia Minor..." In another place (124) we have a sweeping denunciation: "Civil tumult, the curse of Greek communities in all...ages..." Compare also remarks on page 51.

In 1341 the Turkomans slew many Greeks (48) and "burnt all Trebizond within and without...", so that much people who had taken refuge in the churches, with women, children, besides horses and cattle, perished in the flames". As a result of the "stench of the putrefying half-burned bodies" an epidemic arose and most of the people perished<sup>15</sup>. Six years later (1347), the Black Death ravaged Trapezous for seven months with earthquakes as its handmaids, and about four-fifths of the population went to their graves (53). During the reign of Alexios III (1349-1390), the Bubonic Plague made "two severe visitations" (69). There was still another plague in 1456 (88).

In 1404, Henry III of Castile sent Clavijo as an envoy to the court of Timour <= Tamerlane> at Samarcand (72). Tamerlane saved the Byzantine Empire and that of Trapezous for a time by defeating the Turks at Angora (1402), who were under Bayezit I, the 'Thunderbolt', who had overthrown the Serbian Empire on the plain of Kosovo in 1389 (71). Clavijo

<sup>13</sup>At a few other times the relations between the Genoese and the Emperors were strained—in 1425-1428 (79), in 1441, 1443 (91), in 1447, and in 1455 (93).

<sup>14</sup>With Venice things were somewhat better. In 1416 Venice sent the Emperor a clock as a present (77). Although in 1420 the situation was somewhat strained, matters later became better (94).

<sup>15</sup>Florence tried to get a foothold in Trapezous (circ. 1460), but the Empire fell soon after the negotiations began (99).

<sup>16</sup>In 1329, one of the earliest examples of Turkish treachery occurred. A Turkish admiral, chief of Sinope, invited the crews of the Genoese galleys to dine with him and had them slain in order to plunder their ships, of which only three escaped.

<sup>17</sup>In 1329, Pope John XXII asked the Emperor Alexios II to return with his people unto "the unity of the Catholic and Universal Church" (39-40). The Emperor John IV, "like his colleague of Constantinople...coquetted with the idea of the union of the Eastern and Western Churches..." (89). The Metropolitan Dositheus I and George Amoiroutzes were ambassadors from Trapezous in the Council of Florence (90).

<sup>18</sup>Another fire devastated the city, arising in the house of an Armenian woman, about 1435 (84).

tells us that the Emperor Manuel III and his son "wore tall hats surmounted by golden cords, on the top of which were crane's feathers; and the hats were bound...with the skins of martens"<sup>16</sup> (73). Like a Persian monarch Manuel had a page "who bore the bow before" him (73). Trapezous had its crown vassals and also adventurers. One of the latter, Leo Kabasites, "controlled the trade route from Trebizond to Armenia, and levied blackmail upon all who passed that way from his castle of Sigana..." (75). He even made levy on diplomatic missions, in true Bandolero fashion.

It may be of some interest to note that a certain Michael "de Aligeri", who was a merchant in Trapezous, is said to have been related to the family of the poet Dante.

The Emperor David, in 1459, tried to form an anti-Turkish league, but, although apparently many showed willingness to join, the movement was frustrated. The historian comments: "Recent experience shows that union against the Turks has not become easier than at the Congress of Mantua" (99).

In 1451 Phrantzes, "the experienced diplomatist", foretold the end of the Greek Empire as soon as he heard of the death of Murad II and of the accession of Mohammed II, although John IV thought otherwise (85)<sup>17</sup>.

Trapezous fell shortly after its mother Sinope<sup>18</sup>. The city was betrayed<sup>19</sup> and was forced to capitulate, but it suffered as much as if it had not capitulated. After putting the Emperor David<sup>20</sup> and his family, with many nobles, on board ship for Constantinople, Mohammed divided the population into three classes (106), the first of which

he and his magnates took as servants and pages; the second was conveyed to Constantinople as colonists; the third was left in the outskirts, but not within the walls of Trebizond. He selected about 1,500 youths from the city and outside, and put 800 of them into the corps of janissaries. The rest were apparently reserved for a more ignominious fate....

It is interesting to observe that Trapezous<sup>21</sup>, like France, had a Joan of Arc who defended Kordyle (107) "against the janissaries until she, too, threw herself from a window, still extant up to the Crimean War..."

<sup>19</sup>In Trapezous, Clavijo observed, the Emperor's son was usually raised to the purple during his father's lifetime (73).

<sup>20</sup>Phrantzes's words were ominous. The new Emperor, according to him, was "from his childhood an enemy of the Christians, vowing that whenever he finds an opportunity and has the authority of Sultan in his own hands, he will destroy the rule of the Greeks and of all Christians. Verily, indeed, it would have been joyful tidings if the present young Sultan were dead..." (86).

<sup>21</sup>Before its capture by Mohammed, Sinope was (101) "the richest city on the Black Sea, the common emporium of all the district and of no small part of lower Asia..."

<sup>22</sup>Mr. Miller states that George Amoiroutzes was responsible for the fall of Trapezous (103): "the *Political History* directly accuses him of having betrayed Trebizond and at Venice it was believed that 'the Turk acquired Trebizond rather by fraud than arms...' Compare also page 105, and the expression "doubled traitor" applied to Amoiroutzes (112). He found favor with the Sultan, as did his son (111). This traitor died (112) by "Divine vengeance" as he was about to throw the dice.

<sup>23</sup>David and seven of his children were slain by the Sultan on a false pretence, while the eighth was made a moslem. David's devoted wife, Helene, another Antigone, buried with her own hands the corpses of her husband and children, to which the Sultan had refused burial (110).

<sup>24</sup>Several other accounts of places offering valiant resistance are preserved in ballads and stories, such as the Castle of the Sun.



Such was the fate of the Empire of Trapezous and its people. "In 1916, Uspensky visited the city to see what could be done to protect and restore its monuments. To decay, neglect, and whitewash have since been added the returning Turks..." (116).

Literature and art were not uncultivated at Trapezous. The Emperor Alexios himself ordered a picture of the Lercari episode to be painted for a festival (41). Constantine Loukites pronounced the funeral oration of this Emperor (40), and later the Metropolitan Joseph delivered "a bombastic eulogy" of him (41). A Trapezountine horoscope of 1336 is preserved at Munich. "We read of lectures by learned scholars, of theological discussions, of the great luxury, of the falsification of the coinage, of the large volume of trade. For the first time in Byzantine literature we find mention of Siam..." (42).

Michael Panaretos, a man who took part in many of the events he relates, wrote a Chronicle<sup>21</sup>. Andreas Libadenos wrote his Journey; George Chrysokokkes wrote on Persian astronomy; and it is believed that there was an astronomical academy under Alexios II and Alexios III. Stephanos Sgouropoulos was a courtly poet like Constantine Loukites; George Amoiroutzes and another George of Trapezous, who, like Bessarion, taught and died at Rome, and Theodoulos complete the list of writers that this great grandchild of Athens produced. "Bessarion is the only Trapezuntine writer known to fame" (120).

There was religious toleration in the Empire. Clavijo mentions an Armenian Bishop at Trapezous. In 1314 and 1440 we hear of a Franciscan monastery (89). The Genoese and the Venetians had churches at Trapezous. The Emperor John IV was regarded as a Defender of the Faith (96), and Patriarch Gregory III wrote to him on the *filioque* clause (94). The patriarch Gennadios also sent him a copy of his treatise on the Holy Ghost (95).

On page 82, Mr. Miller declares that "...there was a public opinion even at the corrupt court of Trebizond..." The flute and dancing girls were used for entertainments (52). Polo was "a fashionable game of the Byzantine nobility, which had been imported to Trebizond..." (25). The Emperor John I lost his life while playing this game, in 1238. Dice were also used (112). In the time of Alexios II Trapezous was "better policed than some modern towns". It had even "night watchmen" (39).

It is curious to note that the people of Trapezous were as superstitious as the ancient Greeks, a trait that is not entirely extinct among the rural communities of modern Greece. When an eclipse of the sun occurred (1340), the people ascribed it to the Emperor's "wickedness, and assembling outside the castle threw stones at him..." (46).

Mr. Miller gives a graphic description of Trapezous in the fifteenth century (121-122):

<sup>21</sup>This, says Mr. Miller, was a "meagre chronicle" (57), and Panaretos's pen was "feeble" (58). Compare also 59, 60. But The Chronicle preserves a great deal of the history of Trapezous.

<sup>22</sup>In 1361 there occurred another eclipse (62). This Alexios III commemorated, some think, by having "the sun...engraved on his money..." (69).

...Its strong natural and artificial fortifications had made it impregnable<sup>24</sup>; for so far it had never been taken. Its climate was temperate, its water excellent.... The adjacent forests furnished ample wood for carpenters; the houses had two and even three stories; olive-groves and vines abounded. There was shade near at hand, under which the scholar could take his book and recline on the soft grass by murmuring streams and whispering leaves, and sweetly philosophize with Nature. Bessarion mentions the frescoes of the series of Emperors and of scenes from the city's history, especially the dangers which it had undergone, among them, perhaps, the two invasions by Melik and in 1341. They adorned the walls of the palace<sup>25</sup>, which stood on the citadel of which it formed the west wall, and its one entrance was approached by a flight of steps. He speaks as an eye-witness of the fine halls, the balconies, the white marble floor, the roof shining with gold and recalling the firmament with its stars. Above was a marble edifice, shaped like a pyramid, which served as an audience chamber, and beyond that the frescoed banquetting-hall. Thence on the left the visitor was conducted to the library, containing memoirs on anthropology and political history, while on the right was the frescoed chapel adorned with costly offerings. We are told of the threefold expansion of the city, the population of which even then overflowed into the suburbs; in the eastern suburbs (as in Clavijo's account<sup>26</sup>) was the market, presenting a very Oriental appearance with its projecting wicker booths and the workmen sitting cross-legged at their work. It was always open and always crowded, for Trebizond was "as it were, a common workshop or emporium of the whole world"....

The Empire of Trapezous fell, but by that time it had accomplished its mission of saving the Hellenism of Pontus. On pages 123-124 Mr. Miller writes as follows:

... If it did not produce the great soldiers and statesmen of Byzantium or even Nicaea, if men of character were rare among its twenty-one sovereigns, it kept alive the torch of Hellenism in that far off region of the Euxine for over two and a half centuries... to-day, when Hellenism has been rooted out of Pontos<sup>27</sup>, when the ancient Metropolitan Church has been destroyed by the new Mohammed<sup>28</sup> and its pastor is an exile at Athens, men may look back with regret to the Empire of Trebizond.

With these sad words the historian closes his account of the once glorious Trapezous<sup>29</sup>. We might cry out like Antipater, 'Where, Trapezous, are thy temples now, thy wealth and art, thy castled brow?' But, as a modern Greek poem inspired by the fall of this city

<sup>24</sup>In 1438, Pero Tafur, a Spanish traveller, described Trapezous as well walled and rich (94).

<sup>25</sup>Kritoboulos says that Mohammed "ascended to the citadel and the palace, and saw and admired the security of the one and the splendour of the other, and in every way he judged the city worthy of note..." (104).

<sup>26</sup>Clavijo tells us that "the most beautiful part is a street near the sea, which is in one of these suburbs, where they sell all things required in the city..." (74).

<sup>27</sup>... In January, 1923, the new Turkish Governor expelled the remnants of the Greek population, and Trebizond has ceased to be the eastern march of Hellenism" (117).

<sup>28</sup>The monasteries and churches had been spared by Mohammed and remained "centres of Christianity and Hellenism, and even Sultans bestowed presents and privileges upon Soumela" (107). The Metropolitan Church was built upon the cave in which St. Andrew, it was believed, taught (8).

<sup>29</sup>The fame of the Empire of Trapezous had spread abroad and took hold of the imagination of literary men. Cervantes, in Don Quixote, makes mention of it, as do Kabeleis, and Peres Galdos (in *Episodios Nacionales*). G. Marini wrote a novel *Il Colandro*. L. A. Franke composed a poem on the unfortunate last Empress, Kaiserin Helena. P. Langmann published a drama, *Die Prinzessin von Trapezunt*. The Lercari episode occasioned a novel by M. Bandello, *Novelle*. Two Greeks dramatized two episodes: M. T. Melanides composed a tragedy *The Traitor Priest*, and P. Triantaphyllides wrote *The Fugitives*.



says, 'And even if Hellenism passes away, it flowers and bears another' (117).

As will appear from the extracts given above, Mr. Miller's book is readable, painstaking, and scholarly. The author has done his work in a fresh and independent manner. Yet he is not unmindful of the labors of others; he refers frequently to the works of other scholars. One is gratified to see him make use of modern Greek works, a thing unfortunately rarely done by scholars on this continent. The narrative, though succinct, is lucid, although the great condensation makes the panorama shift too quickly and by its rapidity blurs the picture in one's mind. The book could have been made twice as large, with profit. Even as it is, however, it is an excellent history. It should be read by every intelligent person who wants to know at first hand the facts of the history of a part of the Greek world in its darkest hour and its last valiant stand for life, presented by a competent and unbiased authority who has spent all his life in the study of the history of Byzantine and modern Greece as well as its neighbors. Throughout the book a dispassionate spirit pervades, tempered with an understanding heart.

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY CHRISTOPHER G. BROUZAS

#### THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

The Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of The New York Classical Club was held on May 12, 1928, at Columbia University, with 123 members and guests present. At this meeting, Miss Edna White, President, thanked all the members for their cooperation during the year and gave special praise to Miss Beatrice Stepanek, Chairman of the Membership Committee (206 new members were added to the Club in the year). Professor E. Adelaide Hahn, Secretary-Treasurer, reported a gain of more than 100 per cent in the amount in the treasury over the preceding year. A detailed copy of the Treasurer's Report was given to each member. Dr. Walter E. Foster, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, presented to the Club the names of the officers for reelection. The officers were reelected unanimously.

Then Professor Henry D. Wild, of Williams College, addressed the Club on Romance and Legend in Roman Coins (illustrated). Professor Wild modestly stated that he was not an expert on numismatics. A collection of Roman coins was presented to Williams College and it became his duty to catalogue them. Limiting his talk to the coins in this collection (they dated from the latter part of the fourth century B. C. to the early part of the sixth century A. D.), Professor Wild made the battered bronze and brass coins, as well as their richer relatives, look as fresh and polished as the day they came from the mint, centuries ago. The iron hand of Catiline's grandfather, wheat at four cents a bushel, pride of ancestry, a pun on *septentriones*, a musicians' strike, Mark Antony and Octavia, Mark Antony and Cleopatra, the 'penny' of the New Testament, Caligula and his sisters, child welfare, a Thracian who became a Roman Emperor, the gold stamp on a coin of Justinian are a few of the subjects with which Professor Wild for a golden hour delighted his audience. His learned and witty talk was surely, in the words of Jeremy Taylor, a facete discourse.

At the luncheon meeting, which followed Professor Wild's address, 78 were present. Dr. William T. Vlymen spoke briefly about the reawakened interest

in the Classics' and paid a brief tribute to Dean West, of Princeton University. Mr. Edward P. Newell said a few words about the collection of 7,000 Greek and 20,000 Roman coins in The Numismatic Museum, New York City, and extended the invitation of the members of The American Numismatic Society for cooperation with The New York Classical Club. Mr. Bernard Rickatson-Hall, of the Reuter Press Association, delivered a short talk on the interest graduates of English Colleges maintain in later life in the Classics. The meeting ended at 1:50 P. M.

EDWARD COYLE, *Censor*

#### THE WASHINGTON CLASSICAL CLUB

Dr. Cloyd Heck Marvin, newly elected President of The George Washington University, was the speaker at a luncheon of The Washington Classical Club, on May 19, in the Oak Room of the Raleigh Hotel. The speaker was introduced by Professor Charles S. Smith, President of the Club. Dr. Marvin's subject was Education in Plato's Republic. This theme he developed in an address which combined ease and graciousness of delivery with a broad knowledge of the subject and its background, and held the interest of the audience to the end.

Washington is especially fortunate in having as the President of one of her most important Universities a man who is thoroughly a classicist in training and in sympathies.

ADA COE, *Acting Secretary*

#### CONFUSION OF DATES

The point of view advanced in Professor Gertrude Hirst's<sup>1</sup> note on the date of Catullus's birth (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 22.48) is very neatly summarized and emphasized by Professor Tenney Frank in his recent book, *Catullus and Horace, Two Poets in Their Environment*, 6 (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1928): "...The probable date of Catullus's death, as we shall see, is the spring of 54. Hence if he died at the age of thirty, the year of birth is incorrectly given <by Jerome>, or if the year of birth is correct St. Jerome is in error regarding his age at death. We are, however, not left to an even choice between these alternatives. A man's age is frequently recorded on Roman tombstones, while the birth year is not, and that indicates which item we ought to respect. *Jerome apparently fell foul of the first consulship of Cinna (87 B. C.) instead of the fourth (84 B. C.) and then reckoning thirty years from an incorrect date arrived at the erroneous date of death*<sup>2</sup>. This is a type of error that frequently occurs in the chronicle of St. Jerome...."

Attention may be called to analogous cases of possible confusion in St. Jerome's recording of dates. Thus a German scholar, M. Erdmann, in an article in *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie*, for the year 1888, 1405, suggests that Jerome's assignment of the death of Catullus to 57 B. C., a date which is now uni-

<sup>1</sup>In the Home Editions of The New York Evening World and The New York Evening Sun, May 12, were published statistics in regard to the number of new teaching positions for September, 1928, in the New York City High Schools, which give proof of Dr. Vlymen's statement. These statistics showed that there would be required, for the fall term, four additional teachers of Latin, nine of French, two of German, one of Italian. No new teachers of Spanish were to be needed. The number of teachers of French is to be accounted for by the large number of students entering the Senior High Schools from Junior High Schools. Few pupils take Latin in the Junior High Schools.

<sup>2</sup><Professor Hirst's note was in my hands long before Professor Frank's book was published. The delay in publishing her note was due to oversight on my part. The kind of confusion to which Professors Hirst, Frank, Geer, and Spaeth refer has long been familiar to scholars. C. K.>

<sup>3</sup>The italics are mine.

versally regarded as too early, may be due to his mistaking one of the consuls of that year, Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, for a consul of the year 52, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius. This view is mentioned in the revised edition of Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, 1.293 (fourth edition, revised by Carl Hosius [Munich, C. H. Beck, 1927]).

Similarly, under date of 94 B. C. (95 B. C., according to some manuscripts), Jerome records the birth of Lucretius (Titus Lucretius poeta nascitur) and adds that Lucretius committed suicide in his forty-fourth year (*propria se manu interfecit anno aetatis XLIIII*). This statement seems to conflict with a passage in the Suetonian Life of Vergil which mentions the death of Lucretius as having occurred in 55 B. C. on the very day on which Vergil assumed the *toga virilis* (evenitque ut eo ipso die Lucretius poeta decederet)<sup>1</sup>. Accordingly Professor W. A. Merrill, in his edition of Lucretius, II (American Book Company, 1907), suggested that "...Jerome's mistake is probably due to a confusion between the consuls of 656/98, Q. Caecilius and T. Didius, and those of 660/94, C. Caelius and L. Domitius..."

It will not be out of place, I hope, to cite a few examples to show that even in our own day, and among scholars, two dates or two items may be confused because of similarity.

(1) In 9 B. C., Nero Claudius Drusus, Augustus's stepson, died while he was campaigning in Germany. In 9 A. D. Quintilius Varus, Augustus's legate in Germany, was killed in the terrible disaster at the Teutoburg Forest. The points of similarity between these events are obvious. It is understandable, therefore, to find the date of Drusus's death sometimes given incorrectly as 9 A. D. (e. g. in Marcus S. Dimsdale, *A History of Latin Literature*, 351 [New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1915], and in an article by M. Platnauer, *The Mind of Rome*, 404 [edited by Cyril Bailey: Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1926]).

(2) The *Bellum Punicum* of Cn. Naevius dealt in verse with the First Punic War. The *Annales* of Ennius treated in large part of the Second Punic War. But so far has Ennius's work, both in itself and in its subject, eclipsed its predecessor, both among ancients and moderns, that we sometimes find the statement that Naevius's epic, too, told about the Second Punic War, not the First (e. g. in an article by A. N. Bryan-Brown, in *The Mind of Rome*, 60, and in M. Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World: II. Rome* [Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1927]).

(3) The names of C. Flaminius, the Roman consul slain at Lake Trasimene, in 217 B. C., and T. Quinctius Flaminius, the victor at Cynoscephalae in Greece, in 197 B. C., have been confused (e. g. in W. C. Wright, *A Short History of Greek Literature* from Homer to Julian, 463 [New York: American Book Company, 1907]). Such mistaken identity is even more akin to that type of error which, as mentioned above, is more than once suspected in Jerome's continuation of Eusebius's *Chronicle*.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

JOHN W. SPAETH, JR.

<sup>1</sup>My colleague, Professor Russel M. Geer, however, has shown that this passage in the *Vita Vergili* "must be regarded with suspicion..." see the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 57 (1926), 109.

<sup>2</sup>This example was furnished me by Professor Geer.

## JUNIOR COLLEGES

Pliny the Younger, in a letter to his friend Tacitus (4.12), describes his plan to subsidize a School at Comum. He has persuaded the parents to subscribe (*conferre pecuniam*) for the support of a School at home rather than to continue sending the boys to Milan. His arguments as repeated to Tacitus are much the same as those offered in our own time for the establishment of Junior Colleges as part of the Public School system in many of our cities—the advantage of keeping the boys at home with their parents and the saving thereby in expense. Rather inconsistently Pliny's local pride causes him to hope that the parents may employ such good teachers that students will come to the School at Comum from other towns.

Two recent articles are directed against the Junior College system. One, *The Junior College*, by George Herbert Palmer, appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* 139.497-501 (April 1927). The other, an unsigned article entitled *The Junior College Menace*, was published in *The Atlantic Monthly* 139.809-812 (June, 1927). These articles attack the system as endangering the four-year College, and as affording to the student only inferior teaching and training. The latter view seems to have been that of Horace's father, who refused to be satisfied with the School in the home town, and took his son to Rome for the wider opportunities afforded there.

ILLINOIS WOMAN'S COLLEGE,  
JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS

MARY JOHNSTON

## STRAUS COTHURNUS

"In the South at that time it was still rare for a person to change his politics, and one of the questions that was put to me was why had I, a member of a Democratic family, once a Democrat myself, and even having held office under a Democratic President, changed over to the Republican side, in other words, why had I been on both sides of the political fence, though they were too polite to ask the question in that direct form. I told them that perhaps no one had a better right than they to ask the reason for my political affiliations. It was true, I said, that I had been, as it were, on both sides of the fence, but that was not my fault; the fence had been moved".

Readers of the foregoing passage from the autobiography of Oscar S. Straus<sup>1</sup> will recall the epithet applied by Critias<sup>2</sup> to Theramenes in 411 B. C. ('the buskin, which, designed to shape itself to either foot, is a poor fit for both'), and the fruitless speech of Theramenes in defence of his policy and his life. The central thought of the splendid apology which Xenophon puts into his mouth<sup>3</sup> is that Theramenes's party had moved<sup>4</sup> even as Straus's fence moved.

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE, CASPER J. KRAEMER, JR.  
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

<sup>1</sup>Under Four Administrations, 242 (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922).

<sup>2</sup>Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.3.31. The passage is generally bracketed, unnecessarily, I think.

<sup>3</sup>*Hellenica* 2.3.35-49. For Theramenes's satirical reply to the buskin charge see 2.3.47.

<sup>4</sup>The chief sources for Theramenes are Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.1-3; Lysias, *Eratosthenes* 62-78; Diodorus 13-14; Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia* 31-37. A good account of him is given by J. B. Bury, *History of Greece*, 489-510 (London, Macmillan, 1922). <Many readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY will be glad to be reminded of a very interesting book about Theramenes. This work, entitled *Gorgo, A Romance of Old Athens*, was written by Charles Kelsey Gaines, Professor of Greek in St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York (Boston, Lothrop, Lee and Shepard Co., 1903. Pp. 507). C. K.>

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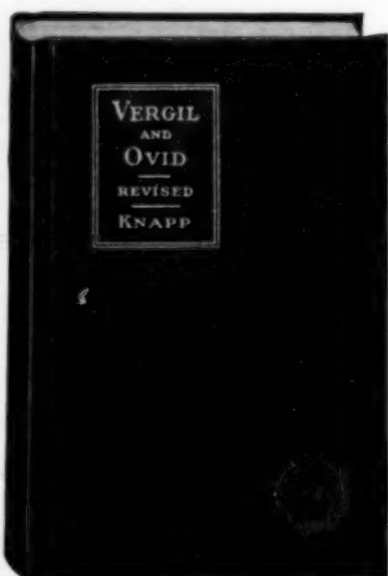
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